764 the stones are of undressed coral and of varying shapes, 7 to 30 inches long, 8 to 30 inches high, and 1 to 4 inches thick. The grave of the second Tongan warrior, Tokaipolo, on the boundary between Loto and Ngake, consists of a double enclosure. The grave proper is now marked by five stones tracing a rectangle 8 feet long, 3 feet wide. This grave is enclosed by a low curbing 17 feet long, 7 feet 6 inches wide, of which there remain today 14 stones, each approximately 18 inches long, 6 inches thick, and 7 inches above ground. This grave is falling into ruins and many stones from the curbing have been removed.

The grave of a child in the cemetery of Walangalaula is a small rectangular enclosure 2 feet long, 1 foot 6 inches wide, made with small coral stones set on edge about 5 inches above ground. Pau noted that this was the grave of a dearly loved infant whose parents took this way of commemorating their love, instead of burying with a single headstone and footstone.

765 The grave of the chief, Te Kula, is situated to the east of and separate from the cemetery of Matanga. It is 10 feet long, 3 feet 7 inches wide, and is marked by eight stones, each about 6 to 10 inches high. Next to this grave is that of his children who were all buried in a canoe. Their grave is 30 feet long, 5 feet wide and marked by 26 small stones, each about 8 inches long, 8 inches high, and 1 inch above the ground. The stones are both rectangular and triangular.

B88 On Motu Ko is a separate grave, on the outer beach, of Tuanua who was killed as a thief, and another more elaborate grave, at the point Matuetu, of a man named Walelula and his two companions who broke the taps of the reserve and were killed for their sacrilege. Their relatives erected gravestones in the shape of a double shield to commemorate their death. The inner shield has the base to the east, the apex to the west; the base is 6 feet long, the apex 6 feet from the base line. The outer shield follows the outline of the inner shield, being from 7 to 12 inches from it, narrower where stones have fallen in toward the inner shield. The inner shield consists of 14 stones, the outer of 20, ranging from 1 foot to 3 feet 4 inches wide, 3 inches to 18 inches high, and 1 inch to 7 inches thick. The stones are undressed, mixed conglomerate and coral. No reason can be given for the peculiar shape of this grave save that relatives wished to build a personal memorial to the deceased men.

Of the many graves examined, two only were found lying off the customary east-west direction. One is the grave, lying northeast by southwest, of a man in the Loto cemetery of Walangalaula. Pau stated that this grave was oriented to face the principal cemeteries of Yato village because during life the deceased gained a great reputation for his ability to compose chants which upheld the glory of Loto and ridiculed the other two villages, especially Yato. When he died, relatives oriented the grave as if the deceased were still "guarding" the honor of his village against the verbal assaults of Yato. The second grave also lies northeast by southwest, close to the grave of Te Kula and his children. The reason suggested for this orientation was that the deceased, a man named Mangee, was a close friend of Te Kula and wished to be buried next to the chief. But as his lineage gods differed from those of Te Kula, he requested that his relatives bury him facing the direction of the main religious structure of his god, Te Alongoa.

211 Commemorative gravestones (*umuli ola*) marking the place where a person was accidentally killed (though not buried) are of the usual undressed coral and mark out a rectangular area.

ARCHEOLOGY

172 Beyond the sinking of a trench across the site of an old religious structure, no opportunities presented themselves for the purposeful excavation of likely

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843 of possible contagious influence on the shape of the child growing in the womb.

The pregnant woman should be careful not to bring on miscarriage after the fourth month of pregnancy. Though there is no record of deliberate attempts to produce miscarriage by physical means, miscarriage is easily produced by psychological means. When a woman is dissatisfied with her husband, or commits adultery in thought or deed, or does not love her husband as she ought, or does not desire a child by him, or is in general mental distress, a miscarriage is likely to follow. No preventative is known to ward off the possible effects of such a psychological upset, save only the counsel to the married woman to be of good cheer and of easy heart.

847 As to the frequency of abortion, it was impossible to gain any information. There is a fairly well established technique for securing abortion, however, and informants could give many cases where it might be desired:

> If the child is the result of incest; if the woman is tired of the man who is the father of her child and wishes to marry another man; if the woman fears that her new husband will not wish to be the psychological father of her child or will despise her because she is pregnant by another man; if a married woman becomes pregnant by another man, and is afraid that her husband will thereby discover her intrigue; if a woman is pregnant by a man who is ugly or physically deformed, and is afraid her child may be born with the deformities of its father. For all these reasons a woman might decide on an abortion. A well-informed woman informant knew of none of her friends who had had an abortion, but she thought it occurred nowadays among unmarried girls.
>
> The method of securing abortion is by physical manipulation, called *kumi* to wife (pressure on the fetus) or *kumi papa* (pressure on the pregnant woman). A medicine man is rarely employed because it is dangerous to get an outsider to do this. The father or mother of the pregnant woman gives her a prolonged and severe *kumikumi* (deep pressure) using the *makatolo* technique (pp. 538), rubbing from the top of the abdomen toward the thighs. "The blood inside gets all mixed up, it flows outward from the body, and carries the child with it", is the rationalization given by Pua. He said this *kumikumi* method would be sure to work up to the fourth month of pregnancy. Another informant believed that the efficacy of the *kumikumi* would be improved if the hands were dipped in hot water before being applied to the abdomen. This informant also recommended that the pregnant woman should drink plenty of hot water.

766 Death during pregnancy or confinement is considered a particularly bad
761 death (*mate yili*), whether the child lives or dies. A deceased pregnant
843 woman is buried in the condition in which she died; no attempt is made to remove the fetus from the womb to bury it separately. No special ideas of fear are associated with the ghost of an unborn child. Informants were very vague as to its exact status in the Underworld.

843 In general, the social attitude toward the pregnant mother is matter-of-fact. There are no tapus on her participation in social events. Tapus on her diet and behavior are all destined to protect her baby's health or bodily form; they are not a matter of social pride or shame in her. Her husband, if she has one, treats her with especial consideration during this period by provid-

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765 cleansed of overwhelming sorrow and that they were sufficiently calm to return to everyday life, he announced that the mourning (*taupo*) period would end on the following day. A small feast (*lulukunga*) was held at the grave by the immediate family of the deceased for the friends who had supplied the mourners with food. The party then broke up without ceremony to return to the village. There was no further attendance on the grave. If another relative had died while the mourning party was at the cemetery, they continued in residence for a further period. According to Veti, some mourning parties resided in a cemetery for six to nine moons at a stretch.

765 526 613 Mourning periods were sometimes concluded with a seclusion (*kaitau*) followed by a wrestling contest. When the mourners left the grave, they selected young men of the paternal lineage, married and unmarried, to go into the house of seclusion (*nuie kaitau*, see p. 282) for one moon to be fattened for the wrestling. On leaving the house of seclusion at the end of the period, the men paraded through the villages issuing the customary challenge. The match which followed brought the mourning period to a close.

Death of a Chief

766 Formerly special procedures followed the death of the chief. The following material refers especially to the supreme chief who lived in Loto, but informants said that similar procedures might be followed for the chiefs of the other villages as well as for the sacred maid.

[763] The deceased chief was taken to the place on Loto beach called Te Ava-o-te-upe, buried, and then taken back to his house. The body was smeared with scented coconut oil, dressed in the ordinary short death mats made by the women of the chief's household, and adorned with ornaments. Even if the chief died under suspicious circumstances, no post mortem examination was held. "If the body was dead, it was dead, and there was nothing more to be found out about it," is the way informants expressed the matter. The corpse was laid out, the wake began. The people of the island came to pay their last respects to the dead chief, bringing with them death gifts, as a last farewell (*nuku-tuvai*) to the chief. Watching beside the corpse were two girls of the paternal lineage (*po*) of the chief. They were called *tauir* (guardians). Each girl held in her hand a burning stick of *puapua* wood called *te auai o Matangi* (the fire of Matangi). As each mourner came forward to present his gift and to smell (*pongi*) the corpse, the guardian pressed the brand against his flesh. To show his intense love for the dead man the mourner was required not to flinch at the impact. A mourner who could greet the corpse ten times and withstand ten burnings was known to have tremendous love (*alea*) for the chief, whereas the man who shrank away from the impact of the torch obviously had little love for his chief. The mourners recited chants for two or more days and nights if the chief had been beloved in life, for a shorter period if not. The chief mourner was the deceased's sacred maid.

The chief's grave, unlike the grave of an ordinary person, was dug very deep, down to water level. For interment the body was bundled in mats brought as death gifts; the other gifts were placed inside the bundle, and the whole secured with a large covering, such as the sail of the chief's canoe. Trussed with numerous transverse turns of sennit, the bundle was described by informants as "looking like a long cigar-shaped bundle (*pai*) of Samoan tobacco." Strong men picked up the body, raised it above

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their heads on upturned palms, and carried it thus to the grave. The people of the island followed, chanting, with arms raised and palms upturned. On reaching the grave they recited the following chant of which the language is archaic in part and the translation only approximately correct:

Kai yuki yukio	Carry above the head (?)
Feyre nunkinga!	Wet (against the) face of the sky
Tipu, tipu	To one side, to one (the other) side,
Ulu ulu ei, ulu ulu ei	Up and down, up and down,
Kaukau, tupukau,	Undulate, undulate,
Tai ale	Stand back (?)
Uli!	Throw down!

The bearers swung the corpse to and fro to the rhythm of the chant, and when the word "Uli" was shouted out, they threw it with all their strength into the grave. The people listened as it fell against the bottom. If the body was heard to grunt, the omen was good. If there was no sound, a man was sent into the grave to fasten a length of sennit (*kaasa*) to the corpse bundle. The body was hauled from the grave and hoisted on high, the chant was recited again, and the body crashed into the grave. All listened, and if no grunt was heard, the body was hoisted out and thrown a third time. If a grunt was heard, all was well; but if no sound was heard, the body was nevertheless left in peace, but the late chief was cursed for not vouchsafing the people some omen for the future. The rationalization for this procedure is this: the grave was dug deeply so that the chief's soul might quickly meet the spirits of his ancestors (*tupuna*) and the gods of the Underworld to request favors from them ensuring prosperous and happy times for the people on earth. The grunting sound for which everyone anxiously listened was a sign from the chief that the gods had agreed to his request. No sound meant that the chief was dissatisfied with his burial and refused to intercede with the gods below. Hence the people cursed him for being ungrateful to them.

Though there was no custom of using a canoe as a coffin for the chief, Te Kula, who lived approximately thirteen generations ago, buried one of his canoes in the ground and used this as a tomb for his children, opening the grave to place each of his deceased children within the canoe. Te Kula was himself buried directly in the earth close to the canoe. A row of stones marks the outline of the canoe, and other stones delineate the grave of the chief (p. 163).

After the chief was finally laid in the grave, earth and pebbles were filled in on top. The closest relatives remained by the grave. The young men of all three villages went to Loto's reserve, Uta, to get coconuts for the chief's funeral division, called *hova* or *loahova*. Other nuts were procured from the reserved trees (*nia vaksavale*) round the chief's cemetery. The nuts, called *te hova o te aliki*, were removed from the trees in clusters and carefully lowered to the ground by a rope. No nut was thrown to the ground, and any nut that fell from the cluster as it was being lowered was discarded. Dropped nuts became imperfect and therefore derogatory to the prestige of the late chief.

The division of nuts took place on the meeting ground (*awanga*) of the old men's group (*tupale*). A strong man, who was chosen, picked up a cluster of nuts, held it before him with both hands, and gave it a sudden jerk. The nuts that fell from the stem were divided among the people; the nuts that remained on the stem were reserved for the god of coconuts, Tamayol. The man who shook off the nuts was called *te toli uvaia*. A divider who was so strong that he shook off all the nuts, leaving none for the god, or so weak that he shook off too few for the people (say only 10 out of 20) was dismissed. The god's share of the nuts was taken to the place called Talkeie (at the rear of the present London Missionary Society church) and left on the ground to rot or to sprout; no man would dare to remove them on pain of death inflicted by the gods.

The relatives of the late chief remained in the death house to mourn for one to three moons. Covered with mats, they stayed mainly inside the house, never talked above a whisper, and did no work, being fed by other relatives not in mourning. There were no special food tapus or mourning adornment. When the mourning was ended, the

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mourners placed the stones (p. 161) round the grave and returned to their houses. There is no record that a seclusion (*hoiloa*) was ever held in conjunction with the mourning for a chief. There was no tapu period after his death for the general populace: mourning observances were carried out by the close relatives of the chief without affecting the people of the island.

Accidental Death

The body of a person killed by falling from a tree, by lightning, or any other mishap on Motu Ko or Motu Kotawa is taken back to Wale for burial in the lineage cemetery. At the place of the accident a second grave is dug, filled in again, and marked by stones. This is the grave of the spirit that is supposed to linger about the place of death. The gravestones (*mauli ola*) serve as a memorial (*mokomailongo*) to the accidental death (*mate yili*). When formerly the spirit of one accidentally killed later visited a kinsman in a dream, the deceased became an ancestor god (*atua tangata*) of his paternal lineage, and the gravestones served as a shrine for the god. A sacred clearing (*yionga mate*) was made between the shrine and the beach as a tapu place reserved for the god.

The recovered body of a man drowned at sea is buried like any other. But a man drowned at sea whose body is not recovered, is commemorated by a gravestone (*mauli ola*), which is set up over a grave for his spirit on the beach opposite the place where he was last seen. His relatives hold a wake in his house and then go to mourn briefly at his gravestone. His grave would also be a shrine if he became an ancestor god. If they did not become gods, men who died at sea and whose bodies were not recovered became ocean spirits or else the ancestors or relatives of fish and other sea animals. Nothing is known of the Samoan custom of catching an animal or insect in a mat and burying this in the grave in place of the body.

Men killed by reserve land guards for violating the tapus of the reserves were usually interred in graves dug at the place of their death. Because of the intimate tie between cemetery and paternal lineage, burial in any other place than the lineage plot was a degrading fate for any man.

Present-day Practice

Today those death customs no longer followed out in full have been modified without altering the general pattern. Mourners do not live at the death house for the mourning period. Instead one or two relatives keep watch over the grave during the day, returning to the village to sleep at night. All the immediate relatives go to live in the house of the deceased for a month or more to mourn (*tangi*). Most of them merely sleep in this house, going home to eat during the day. In line with the withdrawal of mourners from village activities in former times, the chief mourners today refrain from going to church for several weeks after the deceased is buried.

539 The men were afraid of being eaten by sharks but Pakula calmed them and handed to each his death gift of a bonito hook that none might die alone. (12) Four men swam to Motu Kotawa but Pakula and Patutua drifted for two nights at sea. Finally they were seen by their god Ngaliyeyeu who pulled them towards Motu Kotawa. They stood on the shore and Pakula boasted: "Now to copulate with the vagina!" For three nights these two stayed on the reserve, eating to regain their strength. Then they returned to Wale where their lineage made a big feast for them that they might be fat enough to stand outside their houses as before, shamed by no one.

Of Malangatiale

[538] The story of Malangatiale and Wenuku is a popular Pukapukan tale. These two men were members of the same birth class and of the fishing group (tanganga) which fished each day for the old men's group. The account below relates that Malangatiale was punished for assuming status above the leader of his birth class. Another version states the quarrel arose over the catching of turtles because Malangatiale disobeyed his leader and caught the easy female turtle, leaving his friend the dangerous male turtle.

Malangatiale and Wenuku were born in the same year but Wenuku was the first-born of their common birth class. Each was the captain of a canoe fishing for the old men. One day both canoes went to sea, Malangatiale going to the west, Wenuku to the east. The canoes met again opposite the place called Tua-o-te-mumu. Here they saw turtles, and caught a pair. Malangatiale and Wenuku quarrelled with each other each insisting that the turtles be loaded on his own canoe, though Wenuku, being the senior born had the right to command, and Malangatiale was boldly setting himself ahead of

[766] 12. One of the responsibilities of the captain of a deep sea fishing canoe is that of providing for each of his crew a death gift, should the lives of the crew be endangered by the canoe's capsizing or wreckage. Just as on land, no funeral wake is complete without the presentation of friendly gifts to the corpse, gifts which were formerly buried with the body, so in case of death at sea, this is made more bearable by the thought that none will die without his death gift.